

**U
L
P
A**

**University of
Leipzig
Papers on
Africa**

**Languages and
Literatures
No. 06 1999**

**INSTITUT FÜR
AFRIKANISTIK**

**The development of
passive constructions
in Hausa**

Mahamane L. Abdoulaye

The development of
passive constructions
in Hausa

Mahamane L. Abdoulaye

1. Introduction

Recent functional-typological studies have established the fact that the majority of the world's languages do not have passive (see Haspelmath 1990, Van Valin 1993), and that the functions passive fulfills can be fulfilled by other morphosyntactic means (see Paris 1987, Lazard 1995: 194, etc.). This situation seems to apply to Chadic languages as well (cf. Keenan 1985: 247), where the passive construction is well attested only in a few languages (for example Hausa and Buduma - see Lukas 1939: 61), while in others it appears on a limited scale (for example Musgu - see Lukas 1941: 39), and still in others, passive functions are taken over by constructions such as nominalization (for example Pero - see Frajzyngier 1989: 161ff) or, more commonly, by agent-defocusing impersonal constructions. Nonetheless even in Hausa, which marks its passive with a (...)LH tone pattern and a final u on the verb, the passive construction seems to have a low functional load (see Keenan 1985), because there is no major morphosyntactic process which is wholly dependent on the passive construction for its operation. In fact to the contrary, passive seems to restrict to two verbs a general process of applicative formation, which otherwise also applies to basic intransitive verbs (see Jaggar 1992a: 60n12). This contrasts Hausa sharply with a language such as Malagasy where passive is required to promote non-subject arguments before they can be relativized (see Keenan 1976). Furthermore, as mentioned in most grammar books, passive sentences from other languages are translated into Hausa with active impersonal constructions, while the Hausa passive itself most often carries particular semantic loads, as exemplified here:

- (1) a. An wankè riigaa jiyà.
 imp.PERF wash-IV gown yesterday
 'The gown was cleaned yesterday.'
- b. Riigaa taa wàнку jiyà.
 gown 3fs.PERF wash-VII yesterday
 'The gown was (well/ thoroughly) cleaned yesterday.'

In (1a) the impersonal construction has a simple translation with a passive in English. In (1b) however, the Hausa passive carries an additional intensive meaning. This is only one possibility, and in general, the Hausa passive may express the additional sense that the action was done despite adverse conditions (conative function, cf. Caron 1988, 1991), or that the action could be done only

Secondly, I will approach the relationship between the two groups from a diachronic perspective, specifically from the perspective of the grammaticalization theory. Taking into consideration the fact that only a few Chadic languages may have passive, I propose that in early Hausa, the grade 7 morphology was only applied to intransitive middle verbs to derive forms with intensive meaning or some special meaning, as seen in examples (2-3). I also propose that later, Hausa developed the passive by generalizing the use of the grade 7 morphology to derive intransitive verbs from transitive ones, very likely as a pragmatic means to foreground non-subject complements to subject/ topic function. When grade 7 started being grammaticalized in this way, the original intensity semantics started to weaken and diversify and were no longer obligatory in passive constructions, as seen in (1). Furthermore, following the ideas outlined in Keenan (1985) and others, I will suggest that the grammaticalization theory holds some answers as to why in Hausa the passive subject position is accessible to some non-patient nominals (for example locative and associative nominals).

The organization of the paper is as follows: In section 2 I summarize the most exhaustive recent analysis of the grade 7. Section 3 describes the passive use of grade 7 and its syntactic and semantic properties. Section 4 similarly describes the non-passive grade 7 forms. Section 5 presents a diachronic perspective of the grade 7 passive, and argues that it might have developed out of the non-passive grade 7 and had since advanced on the grammaticalization path.

2. Previous research

Previous studies of grade 7 (with the exception of Jaggar 1988 and Caron 1988, 1991) have focused mostly on the passive forms, as illustrated in (1b), only noting the existence of the non-passive forms, as illustrated in (2b) and (3b). Passive grade 7 has always been recognized as having two functions: On the one hand it is the passive marker, changing transitive verbs into intransitive verbs, and where the transitive object becomes subject (cf. Robinson 1897: 46-47, Abraham 1959: 47, Parsons 1971-72, Jaggar 1981, 1988, Tuller 1990, Caron 1988, 1991, and Attouman 1996). These authors, and particularly Parsons (1971-72: 77), also emphasize grade 7's "sustentative" or intensive function, where the passive subject has thoroughly undergone the verb's action (in the perfective aspect) or is potentially capable of fully undergoing it (in the continuative aspect).

This section focuses only on one previous study, Jaggar (1988), because this is the most extensive account, genuinely dealing with all subgroups of the grade 7 verbs and suggesting a historical source for the grade 7 morpheme (see section 5). In doing so, I am putting aside two formally-oriented analyses, Tuller 1990 (GB Theory), and Attouman 1996 (Culioli's *Théorie de*

For Jaggar then, all three types of passives can indeed fall under the general characterization that their subject is an affected subject.

As proposed later in section 5, the relation between passive and non-passive grade 7 forms is more complicated, and one may first have to consider the two classes separately in order to arrive at a proper characterization for each of them. Thus, the (...)LH-u morphology, particularly in (5-6), is best characterized as an intensive (middle) action marker, not simply as an affected subject marker. For example, in both sentences of (6), the referent Muusaa is affected because he is undergoing the same basic process of getting tired. On the other hand, the obvious difference between grade 7 forms and their basic forms in (5-6) is that the grade 7 forms are intensive. Jaggar's characterization of grade 7 as an affected subject grade, although on the right track, is nonetheless insufficient in explaining the history and the functions of the grade 7. Consideration of the semantic differences between passive and non-passive grade 7 verbs is a key factor in the analyses presented in this paper. The next section describes the derivation of the passive forms.

3. Passive grade 7 constructions

The aim of this section is to show that there exists in Hausa a relatively productive passive forms derivation. Typically, most of the passive constructions satisfy the criteria for the basic passive, as proposed in Keenan (1985: 247), i.e. no agent phrase, and derivation from transitive verbs expressing an activity. However, there are also some non-basic passive constructions with agentive expressions, while others are based on ditransitive verbs. (In section 5 we will also see that some adjunct nominals, such as locatives and associatives, can be passive subjects).

3.1 The verbal system in Hausa

Before dealing with passive grade 7, this section starts with an overview of Hausa verbs, as presented in the system proposed by Parsons. In Parsons (1960, 1962, 1971-72) the majority of Hausa verbs are classified into seven derivational classes or "grades", each characterized by a tone pattern, a verbal ending, and some syntactic and semantic correlates. Where it is relevant, the verb alternatively assumes an A-form when no direct object follows, a B-form with a personal pronoun direct object, and a C-form with other kinds of direct objects (such as nouns, demonstratives, clauses, etc.). A D-form is also distinguished which appears before indirect objects. The grades and the first three forms are illustrated below using the disyllabic verbs jeef- 'to throw' and fit- 'to go out' (for revisions and criticisms of the grade system see Gouffé 1962, 1988, Newman 1973, Wolff 1984, 1993, Abdoulaye 1991, 1992, 1996a, and others):

otherwise one would be dealing with an ergative language. Because the Hausa passive morphology is also used to express another linguistic category -- as this paper contends -- it is important to clearly delimit the types of forms which I will consider to be passive. The main criterion for considering a grade 7 form as passive is the existence of an active form, where the passive subject appears as complement (direct object, dative, benefactive, locative, etc.), with another nominal as subject. I will also consider the presence of the same particular semantic features in an active verb and in its corresponding passive verb. Finally, the implication of an agent (or its actual presence in an agentive phrase) is another key criterion that I will consider in this paper.

As one would expect, most passive forms have transitive counterparts with an agent as subject and a patient as direct object. The transitive verb form can be found in grade 1, grade 2, and the class of irregular verbs. Beside the characteristic reordering of the NPs, the passive forms seem to share some very specific semantic features with the active verbs, a fact which can be easily explained by a derivation of the passive verb forms from the active ones. An illustration involving grade 1 and grade 2 is given in the following:

- (7) a. Abdù yaa yankà naamàn rààkumii.
 Abdu 3ms.PERF cut-I meat-of camel
 'Abdu made a cut into the camel meat.'
 'Abdu divided the camel meat.'
- b. Abdù yaa yànkì naamàn rààkumii.
 Abdu 3ms.PERF cut-II meat-of camel
 'Abdu cut off (a piece of) the camel meat.'
- c. Naamàn rààkumii yaa yànkù.
 meat-of camel 3ms.PERF cut-VII
 'The camel meat has been cut into.'
 'The camel meat has been divided.'
 'The camel meat has been cut off.'

In both active sentences (7a-b), the subject Abdù is the agent performing the action. Sentence (7c) gives the passive form yànkù 'be cut' where the direct object is naamàn rààkumii 'camel meat', which is a direct object in the active sentences in (7a-b). In sentence (7a), the grade 1 form yankà 'cut' has two nuances of meaning, where either a partial cut is made into the camel meat, or the meat is halved or cut into pieces. In (7b), the grade 2 form yànkì has the special meaning where the subject referent cuts and removes a piece of the meat. which is structurally ambiguous and can

grade 4 kashè 'kill', grade 6 kasoo 'hunt' have a grade 7 form kàsu 'be divided, be beaten, fall into classes, be killed, be hunted'.

Besides grade semantics, there are also other indications supporting a direct derivation of passive grade 7 forms from active forms. As shown in Jaggar (1981) and Bature (1991), some concrete verbs can develop a more or less abstract and distinct meaning, and both the basic and the "metaphorical" meaning can be inherited by passive forms. This is illustrated next:

(10) a. Bàràayii sukà bùgi Abdù.

thieves 3p.RP beat-II Abdu

'The thieves beat Abdu.'

b. Abdù ya bùgu gà bàràayii.

Abdu 3ms.RP beat-VII by thieves

'Abdu was beaten by the thieves.'

(11) a. Giyàa ta bùgi Abdù.

beer 3fs.RP beat-II Abdu

'The beer got Abdu drunk.'

b. Abdù ya bùgu dà giyàa.

Abdu 3ms.RP beat-VII with beer

'Abdu was good and drunk with the beer.'

In (10), bùgi 'beat' has its basic lexical meaning, which can be passivized as seen in (10b). Sentence (11a) shows that the same verb can have a metaphorical sense of 'influence, affect, etc.', as with alcohol. Here too a passive can be derived, as seen in (11b). It may be noted that with the metaphorical sense, the grade 7 form takes the agent in an instrumental phrase, contrary to the basic verb, where the agent appears in an agentive phrase. Other examples of metaphorical verbs include: kafà 'shake', kàfu 'be shaken'; googà 'rub', gòogu 'be polished, be experienced'; daamà/ dàami 'mix, annoy', dàamu 'be mixed, be annoyed, be worried'; kaamà 'catch, infect', kàamu 'be caught, be infected'; tafà 'touch, affect', tàfu 'be touched, be affected, be crazy'; mootsà 'stir, move', mòotsu 'be stirred, be moved, be crazy'; etc.

Morphologically as well, passive grade 7 forms seem to be clearly derived from existing active verb forms. For example, some verbs have undergone a process of fusion with the efferential/causative particle dà (the grade 5) or the applicative particle mà/ wà. In these cases, both the basic and the fused verb have independent passive grade 7 forms. For example consider the following

- b. Goořò bāi ròòkuwaa .wajen Bálki yànzú.
 kolanut NEG.CONT.3ms ask-VII-VN place-of Balki now
 'Kolanuts cannot be asked for with Balki at this time.'

- (13) a. Abdù yaa ròòki Bálki goořò.
 Abdu 3ms.PERF ask-II Balki kolanut
 'Abdu asked Balki for some kolanuts.'

- b. Bálki baa tà ròòkuwaa goořò yànzú.
 Balki NEG.CONT 3fs ask-VII-VN kolanut now
 'Balki cannot be asked for kolanuts at this time.'

In (12a) the verb is syntactically monotransitive, and it has a regular corresponding passive form as seen in (12b). In both cases the source nominal is marked with the preposition *wajen* 'at'. In (13a) the verb is ditransitive with the source nominal as primary object. In the corresponding passive sentence (13b), the source nominal is subject, and the secondary object follows the grade 7 form unmarked. Later in section 5 we will see ditransitive-like verbs involving the Hausa applicative construction.

At the semantic/ syntactic level, it is possible to express the agent in a passive sentence. There are now quite a number of documented examples of passive grade 7 verbs with an agentive phrase introduced by the locative preposition *gà/ gàree* 'on, at, to', as seen in the following (sentences (14b-c) are adapted from Abraham 1962: 277):¹

- (14) a. Giiwaa taa kàsu gà mahàlbaa.
 elephant 3fs.PERF kill-VII by hunters
 'The elephant was killed (only) by the hunters.'
- b. Masàř baa tàa ciiwuwaa gà Jaamùs.
 Egypt NEG.CONT 3fs win-VII-VN by Germany
 'Egypt cannot be conquered by Germany.'
- c. Bindigàř nân baa tàa hàřbuwaa gà mùtùm ðaya.
 gun this NEG.CONT 3fs fire-VII-VN by person one
 'This gun cannot be fired by one man.'

In affirmative sentences such as (14a), expression of the agent phrase may imply that only the agent's referent was able to carry out the action. There is thus a contrast between the agent's referent and other potential actors, though the effect is only an option, as indicated in the gloss. In

suggested that the construction would be fine in a modern political discourse, such as: likitàĩ taa bùuɗu don taimàkaa mà jàma'aa 'the hospital was opened to help the people').

The facts presented in this section show that there exist in Hausa typical passive verbs that in a direct way are semantically and morphologically related to transitive counterparts. For this reason Hausa can be claimed to have a genuine passive construction by any definition, despite the limitations mentioned in the introduction. The next section describes the non-passive grade 7 verbs.

4. Non-passive grade 7 constructions

Most descriptive work on the subject recognizes the existence of grade 7 forms that do not have a corresponding transitive/ active form. Generally, such forms are not considered to be passive at all as they relate to intransitive basic verbs. For Parsons, these grade 7 verbs are simple intransitive verbs. For Jaggar (1981), they are "degenerate" passives, and later in Jaggar (1988) they are labelled agent- and experiencer-oriented grade 7 verbs. Caron (1988: 80, 1991: 221) calls them "deponent" or middle verbs. In Abdoulaye (1992), it is proposed that beside a distinctive syntactic characterization, the non-passive forms also have a distinctive semantic characterization. In this section I will successively survey the intensive forms and the lexical forms (association/ dissociation verbs and verbs meaning "happen").

4.1 Intensive grade 7 verbs

At the level of their derivation, a salient feature of the intensive grade 7 verbs is the fact that they generally have a basic intransitive counterpart with the same basic meaning in grade 1, grade 3, or the irregular class of verbs. That the intensive grade 7 verbs are not passive is shown by the fact that the same nominal subject appears with the grade 7 and the non-grade 7 verb, as already illustrated in (2). For this reason, the intensive forms do not satisfy a fundamental criterion of passiveness, that is, that the grade 7 subject corresponds to a lower argument in the corresponding non-grade 7 construction. Secondly, the intensive constructions do not imply the presence of an agent other than the affected middle subject. There are many indications for this. For example, an agentive phrase and certain sentence extensions presupposing an outside agent are not possible, as illustrated in the following:

- (16) a. Yaarinyàa taa tsàyu wajen Abdù/ *gà Abdù.
 girl 3fs.PERF stand-VII place-of Abdu/ by Abdu
 'The girl stood a long time at Abdu's place.'

As illustrated in (2) in the introduction, intensive grade 7 fulfills a purely semantic function, that of marking the verb's action as intensive, conclusive, thorough, well undergone, etc. In this respect, the function of grade 7 is lexical-derivational, and in this sense it is similar to say, grade 4 and grade 6, which are also semantic grades (totality and ventive respectively). The clearest indication of the intensity semantics is the fact already mentioned that intransitive-based grade 7 verbs are incompatible with expansions contradicting the idea of intensity. This is illustrated again in the following:

- (18) a. Daalibaa taa *kàf̣antà/ *kàf̣antu* gwàlgwadoo.
 student 3fs.PERF read-III/ read-VII relatively
 'The student is relatively knowledgeable.'
- b. Mayàaƙaa sun *karàa/ *kàru* ɗan kàɗannà.
 warriors 3p.PERF clash-I/ clash-VII very little
 'The warriors clashed a little bit.'

Data in (18) show that intensive grade 7 forms cannot appear with diminutive expressions such as *gwàlgwadoo* 'relatively' in (18a) and *ɗan kàɗannà* 'a little bit' in (18b). Crucially, corresponding non-grade 7 intransitive verbs can be modified by such adverbs. Similarly, the negation of intensive grade 7 verbs negates the intensive sense, for example, the sentence *yaarinyàa bà tà tsàyu ba* 'the girl did not stand very long' implies that the girl did stand, but not very much. Also, to emphasize that an action was carried out normally, it is quite natural to say for example *bà zaa à cêe ba sun kàru, sun dai karàa* 'one would not say that they had a big clash, but they did clash'. Here, the intensive meaning, and not the perfectivity, is negated.

If the function of the non-passive grade 7 is to mark intensity semantics, then its function will overlap with the function of grade 4, the verbal grade recognized as the completeness/ intensity/ totality grade (cf. Parsons 1960, Newman 1973: 309). The fact is that most verbs that take the intensive grade 7 do not have a satisfactory corresponding *intransitive* grade 4 form with the same meaning. This is shown in the following for a number of verbs:

accommodate its function as the "action away" marker (but see endnote 2). I propose that the grade 4 is also expanding with regards to its basic function as completeness/ intensity/ totality marker, and this at the expense of the intensive grade 7. Nonetheless, some few verbs are apparently resisting the trend and do not admit a grade 4 form, as shown in the appendix. The appendix given below is not an exhaustive list of all intensive grade 7 forms, but the derivation probably cannot be said to be very productive (Abraham for example in his dictionary lists the intensive forms and only some of the passive forms). Next I turn to the second subclass in the non-passive forms.

4.2 Grade 7 association/ dissociation verbs

The verbs in this second subclass of non-passive grade 7 can be characterized as association/ dissociation verbs which describe the coming together of entities (mostly people or animals, but also things) or their parting, whether literally or figuratively. Some examples of association/ dissociation verbs are: gàmu 'meet', ràbu 'part company with', sàadu 'meet', shàaku 'be close friends with'. A feature of many of these verbs is that if the participants are humans, the NPs referring to them can appear as coordinated subject-topics (with or without the reciprocal anaphor juunaa 'each other'), or one NP may be subject-topic while the other appears in a dà + NP phrase, and this without a meaning difference between the two constructions, as seen below:

- (19) a. Abdù dà Aali sun gàmù (dà juunaa).
 Abdu and Ali 3p.PERF meet-VII (with one.another)
 'Abdu and Ali met.'
- b. Abdù yaa gàmù dà Aali.
 Abdu 3ms.PERF meet-VII with Ali
 'Abdu met with Ali.'

When the meaning of 'meet (to greet)' is considered, there is no corresponding active form where Abdù and Aali in (19a) and Abdù in (19b) would be direct objects. However, the grade 1 form of the verb gamà 'joint, put together' is transitive, as in Bàlki taa gamà Abdù dà Aali cîn tuwoo 'Balki put Abdu and Ali together (around the plate) to eat'. On the other hand, the closest related form is the intransitive grade 4 form gamée 'gather, see, meet' which is parallel to gàmù in (19a-b), as seen in: Abdù dà Aali sun gamée (dà juunaa) and Abdù yaa gamée dà Aali, both meaning 'Abdu and Ali gathered, saw/ met one another'. Comparing gàmù and gamée, the two forms closest in meaning, it is clear that there is no reordering of the NPs and the grade 7 gàmù cannot be considered to be a derived passive.

Table 4: Association/ dissociation grade 7 verbs and corresponding grade 4 forms

grade 7 forms (non-passive)	grade 4 forms	Transitive gr. 1 forms
gàmu 'meet, gather'	gamèe 'gather, see'	gamà 'put together, join'
hàɗu 'meet, gather'	haɗèe 'join, mesh'	haɗà 'combine, join'
jittu 'agree'	jiccèe 'be turned over'	jittà 'turn over'
kàsu 'fall into classes'	(gr. 3 kàlkaɗà 'fall into classes')	kaɗà 'divide'
ràbu 'part, divorce'	raɓèe 'be divided'	raɓà 'divide'
sàadu 'meet'	saadèe 'mesh, converge'	saadà 'mix, mesh'
tàaru 'gather'	taarèe 'gather for long'	taarà 'gather'

The association/ dissociation subclass is quite limited and Table 4 gives a near exhaustive list. A consistent difference between the grade 7 and the grade 4 forms is that the grade 7 forms take only an agent/ actor/ experiencer that is human or at least animate (except for kàsu 'fall into classes' and tàaru 'gather'). The grade 4 form generally has a more diverse semantics and takes animate and inanimate subjects. One may assume that with a few verbs, the intensive morpheme gives rise to the association/ dissociation meaning.

4.3 Grade 7 "happen" verbs

A few grade 7 verbs mean 'happen', and they do not have corresponding transitive or intransitive forms with the same meaning. The near-exhaustive list is given as follows (also see Jaggar 1981: 37, 1988):

Table 5: Grade 7 "happen" verbs

Grade 7 forms (non-passive)	Related forms
àbku 'happen'	abkà 'dump, overproduce', abkàa 'enter' (intr.)
àagàzu 'happen'	àagàji/ aagàzaa 'help'
fàaru 'happen'	faara 'begin', faaraa 'begin' (intr.)
sàamu 'happen'	sàamu (irregular gr. 2) 'obtain'
wànzù 'happen, be'	wanzaĩ dà 'realize, make last'

As can be seen, the grade 7 forms have the same meaning, though the related forms have specific senses. Therefore one may not consider these grade 7 forms to be derived passive from related verbs, since the semantic relation between grade 7 and non-grade 7 forms strongly violates Keenan's semantic derivability criterion (note that fàaru and sàamu really mean 'happen', for example in mun ji àbindà ya fàaru/ sàamu 'we have heard what happened', the event may be

participles), the reflexives, the anticausatives, and the impersonal constructions, etc. Usually the development involves the grammaticalization of an independent lexical item into an inflectional marker. However, Haspelmath also cites passives in other languages that arose in a different way, namely by the reanalysis of a lexical-derivational morpheme into an inflectional marker for passive (cf. Haspelmath 1987: 39-43, 1990: 51-52, and references given there). These languages include Sanskrit, Ancient Greek, Old Indic, Armenian, Arabic, etc. In section 5.1 I claim that Hausa passive also evolved from a lexical-derivational morpheme, the (...)LH-u intensive marker. Section 5.2 explores the effects of continuing grammaticalization on the lexical semantics, the *aktionsart*, and the syntax of passive forms. The Hausa results are conform to the general predictions usually made in this domain, namely, the erosion of semantic content along with an increased generalization of use.

5.1 The grammaticalization of the intensive marker to passive

Jaggar (1988) presents the first proposal on the origins of the grade 7. Now, in the light of the description of grade 7 presented in this work, Jaggar's account seems limited, and deals only with the provenience of the grade 7 (...)LH-u morpheme. Indeed, in Jaggar's perspective, grade 7 is a unitary grade which is syntactically and semantically characterizable. In my description, grade 7 is composed of two distinct classes, and in this section I will try to show how the originally intensive morpheme came to assume the passive function.

According to Jaggar, the grade 7 (...)LH-u morpheme is ultimately relatable to a Proto-Chadic completive morpheme reconstructed as *-*k^wo* by Paul Newman. In many languages of the West-Chadic-A branch, this completive morpheme has been reanalyzed as a perfective marker. The morpheme is *-wo* in Gwandara, *-ko* in Karekare, *-wò* in Bole, *-kò* in Pero, and *-w* in Ngizim, as cited in Jaggar (1988: 406). Nonetheless, Jaggar (1988: 412, n25) notes that in Gwandara, the closest relative of Hausa, the perfective marker appears in the majority of its occurrences on intransitive verbs, at least when the data given in Matsushita (1972) are considered. Some examples are given next, with translations as cited in Jaggar (1988: 406):

(22) a. *nónwaáy cíka-wo.*

'Her breasts are completely developed.'

b. *í rigye tè-wo.*

'He has already gone.'

Following Jaggar's suggestion, it is plausible that the Gwandara perfective morpheme *-wo*, and the Hausa intensive grade 7 are two cognate morphemes. It is important to note that many researchers

- In (25a) the basic (reduplicated) grade 3 verb wàlwaatsà (< *wàatsa) 'spread out all over' is intransitive and implies no direct external agent. To this form corresponds a non-passive intensive grade 7 form, wàatsu 'spread out well all over' in the first interpretation of (25c). Example (25b) presents a transitive grade 1 form waatsà 'spread out, disperse'. To this transitive form corresponds a passive grade 7 form as indicated in the second interpretation of (25c). The probable

In view of similar data, Abraham (1959) takes the grade 7 as marking the idea of intensity of action, although he indicates that for some few verbs this does not obtain. The idea has been endorsed by many, and most conclusively in Parsons (1971-72), Jaggar (1981: 20), and Jaggar (1988: 395) where it is stated that "...[patient]-oriented grade 7 verbs [...] designate a terminal state, focussing entirely upon the patient-subject and how it has conclusively, holistically etc. sustained the perfective action of the verb...". When the grade 7 appears in a continuative aspect sentence, it is also said to express the idea that the passive subject can potentially undergo the verb's action with the same intensive sense found in the perfective.

It is my opinion that the use of grade 7 to express intensity, as seen in (4b) and (26b), is real, but it comes in conflict with further observations and the results of certain compatibility tests. First, there are many typical passive verbs that semantically are not compatible with an intensive reading. For example in *wasu* '*yan kudɕi sun sàamu gà Abdù*' 'some little money was obtained by Abdu', the scale of intensive/ non-intensive sense is irrelevant for this act of obtaining. Also, Attouman (1996) cites many examples showing passive verbs in contexts excluding intensive reading, such as the following:

- (27) a. Bàri! wukâɕ taa wàasu hakànan.
 leave knife-DEF 3fs.PERF sharpen-VII like.that
 'Stop! the knife is sharp enough like that.'
- b. Dà ràagoo yaa iidà gàsuwaa...
 as soon as ram 3ms.PERF finish-I roasting-VII-VN
 'As soon as the ram finishes roasting...'
- c. Ràagoo yaa faarà gàsuwaa.
 Ram 3ms.PERF begin-I roasting-VII-VN
 'The ram starts to roast.'

These examples suggest that even passive verbs compatible with an intensive action may be neutral in this regard. In (27a-b), the speaker may be impatiently waiting for somebody to sharpen the knife just enough for the purpose at hand, or for the ram to reach an acceptable roasting point. The sentence (27c) can be uttered as soon the roasting signs appear on the ram, i.e. before the ram even reaches a roasting point for eating. Similarly, as noted in Caron (1988: 78), passive sometimes expresses a conative meaning, where some action was difficult to carry out. The problem is that the conative sense most often implies that the action was not ideally performed. For example in *dà kyal gidaa ya ginu gà Abdù* 'the house was built with extreme difficulties by Abdu', hearers may

had to translate (inaccurately I think) as 'Abdu cannot be hit'. In conclusion, the idea that passive grade 7 in the perfective always marks an intensive action is not tenable, and passive in most cases may simply entail the perfectivity or completeness of the action.

In the continuative aspect, grade 7 is said to express the ability of the patient to undergo the verb's action. For example, a sentence such as naamàn ràakumii yanàa yàнкуwaa is translated as 'the camel meat can be cut', and indeed in the speech context there is usually no actual cutting going on. Jaggar (1988: 394) claims that it is the durational, processual, and non-completed aspect of the continuative that allows the potentiality entailment with passive verbs. Indeed the potentiality reading of the continuative is not limited to passive grade 7, as illustrated next:

- (30) a. Suu maa sunàa sàyen awaakii.
 3p too 3p-CONT buy-II goats
 'They too, are buying/ usually buy goats.'
 'They too, will buy goats.'
- b. Wadànnàn kudfii sunàa sàyen àkuyàa gùdaa.
 these money 3p-CONT buy goat one
 'This money can buy one goat.'
- c. Bàlki tanàa ðarà Abdù tsawoo.
 Balki 3fs-CONT surpass-I Abdu height
 'Balki would probably be taller than Abdu [if one were to compare them].'
- d. Bàlki tanàa sanin Abdù.
 Balki 3fs-CONT know Abdu
 'Balki probably knows Abdu.'

The possible readings of (30a), with an eventive verb, include the normal progressive reading, the habitual reading, and the potential (intentional, future) reading. A real potential reading is obtained with an inanimate subject, as shown in (30b). In (30c-d) too only a potential interpretation is possible, and this is probably due to the stative nature of the verbs ðarà 'surpass' and san 'know'. It is possible then that Hausa passive verbs were originally more like state verbs, expressing a completed action with a stable result, and therefore incompatible with an on-going, progressive action reading.³ Indeed, to my knowledge, there is no report in the literature of passive grade 7 examples in the continuative where an on-going action is referred to. Nonetheless there is apparently a tendency to use the continuative passive grade 7 to refer to actual, on-going actions,

the ditransitive applied verbs, the applied nominal can be passive subject, as shown in the following:

- (33) a. Aishà taa aikà kudfii wajen Abdù.
 Aisha 3fs.PERF send-I money place-of Abdu
 'Aisha send the money to Abdu.'
- b. Kudfii baa sù àikuwaa wajen Abdù.
 money NEG.CONT 3p send-VII-VN place-of Abdu
 'The money cannot be sent to Abdu.'
- (34) a. Aishà taa aikàa mà Abdù kudfii.
 Aisha 3fs.PERF send-I MA Abdu money
 'Aisha send Abdu the money.'
- b. Abdù baa yà àikuwaa kudfii à haalin yànzù.
 Abdu NEG.CONT 3p send-VII-VN money at condition-of now
 'Abdu cannot be sent money at this time.'

In (33) the active direct object in sentence (33a) corresponds to the passive subject in (33b). The sentence in (34a) is an applicative construction, where Abdù is the recipient, marked with the applicative mà. In this position, the applied nominal has many direct object properties, including the ability to become passive subject, as seen in (34b) (cf. Abdoulaye 1991, 1992).

Beside applied nominals, other complements that can be passivized are locative complements of intransitive motion/ location verbs, or the associative complements marked with the preposition dà 'with', as illustrated next (also see Bargery 1934, Bature 1991, Attouman 1996):

- (35) a. Bàlki taa koomàa gidaa.
 Balki 3fs.PERF return-I home
 'Balki returned home.'
- b. Gidaa baa tà kòomuwaa gà Bàlki.
 home NEG.CONT 3fs return-VII-VN to Balki
 'Balki cannot return home.'
- (36) a. Naa zamnàa dà mijiinaa.
 1s.PERF live-I with husband-of-1s
 'I lived with my husband.'

semantics or stative reading), and it is not syntactically motivated either, as appears to be the case for example in Malagasy (cf. Keenan 1985).

6. Conclusion

This article departs from previous studies of grade 7 in distinguishing passive grade 7 forms from semantically intensive grade 7 forms that are not passive. Passive grade 7 verbs have distinct properties such as a patient in subject position, a direct semantic relation to corresponding (transitive) active verbs, and the ability to take an agentive phrase or agentive expressions. Non-passive grade 7 verbs on the other hand are derived from other intransitive verbs to express intensive action. I give evidence showing that passive grade 7 verbs may also carry an intensity feature, but that this feature is not obligatory and can be contradicted by further expansions in the sentence. I have tried to explain this semantic relationship between passive and non-passive forms by assuming a grammaticalization of an originally intensive morphology on intransitive verbs, to derive passive verbs. This use of a middle verb morphology to mark passive is not surprising and has been documented again and again across typologically various languages. I have suggested that today, Hausa passive constructions may be pragmatically motivated in as much as they can apply to verbs where the intensity semantics or a stative reading are not relevant. This work takes passive to be a relatively new construction introduced into Hausa, and this view fits with its relative rarity among Chadic languages.

* Primary data in this work is from Katsinanci dialect and Standard Hausa. The transcription follows the orthography with some changes. I represent long vowels as double letters, low tone (L) as /à(a)/, falling tone /â(a)/. High tone (H) is unmarked. The symbol 'ř' represents a trilled sound distinct from a flap /r/. Written 'f' is pronounced [h] (or [hw] before [a]) in Katsinanci. The abbreviations are: 1, 2, 3 '1st, 2nd, 3rd person'; CONT 'continuative'; DEF 'definite'; f 'feminine'; gr 'grade'; I, II, etc. 'grade 1, grade 2, etc.'; imp 'impersonal'; m 'masculine'; NEG 'negative'; p 'plural'; PERF 'perfective'; POT 'potential'; RC 'relative continuative'; REDUP 'reduplication'; RP 'relative perfective'; s 'singular'; sb 'somebody'; sth 'something'; swl 'somewhere'. Some ideas and data stem from my 1992 dissertation, and a 1992 manuscript written while working in Paul Newman's Hausa reference grammar project. Final writing and data-checking in Niger were made possible by a financial help from a DFG grant to Ekkehard Wolff at the Institut fuer Afrikanistik, University of Leipzig. I thank all these individuals as well as Ayo Bamgbose, Adam Jones, Martin Haspelmath, Philip Jaggard, Orin Gensler, Mustapha Ahmed, and other readers of this paper, as well as Hausa informants in Niger for their help. I am solely responsible for any remaining weakness.

- (iv) a. Abdù yaa gòogi danyen fentii gà baayan riigaa.
 Abdu 3ms.PERF rub-II fresh paint on back-of shirt
 'Abdu smeared the back of his shirt with fresh paint.'
- b. Abdù yaa googè tsoohon fentii dàgà bangoo.
 Abdu 3ms.PERF rub-IV old paint from wall
 'Abdu (completely) removed the old paint from the wall.'

In (iva), with a grade 2 form, Abdu has (inadvertently) removed a little paint from all the fresh paint somewhere. In (ivb) with grade 4, all the paint is removed. With verbs like "haft/ unhaft", which require a solid object, the grade 2 form may occur less frequently than the grade 4 form. More general "take"-verbs would allow the grade 2 form: dèebi, dèebèe 'take', etc.

With other verbs, the grade 4 semantics is more idiosyncratic, but still characterizable as intensive. For example in bàŕgoo yaa rùfee tà 'the blanket covers her', the grade 2 form expresses the fact that the blanket is large enough for her, but in bàŕgoo yaa rufèe ta 'the blanket totally covered her', the grade 4 form suggests that the blanket's effect is uncomfortable, i.e. the covered baby cannot breath easily. Similarly, yaa dàuiki kèekeenaa means 'he took/ borrowed my bike' and yaa daukè kèekeenaa 'he took away/ stole my bike'. Other pairs are: tùuri 'bump into', tuurèe 'knock down'; kàshi 'beat', kashèe 'kill'; dâukaa '(rain) stop temporarily', dâukee '(rain) stop completely'; taaràa (dà) 'associate (with)', taarèe 'associate for long, go to husband house'; ballà(a) 'snap on, go' ballè(e) 'snap out, go away/ depart'; ragàa 'have leniency for, diminish', ragè(e) 'diminish', etc.

Finally, a few grade 4 verbs have no corresponding verbs in the primary grades or the irregular class of verbs. Some intransitive cases are: rantsèe 'swear', aŕcèe 'pass', raamèe 'be thin', goodèe 'thank', etc. Some labile, transitive and intransitive verbs are: wucè(e) 'pass beyond, surpass, overtake', daurè(e) 'tolerate, be patient', kaarè(e) 'finish', etc. (for more verbs see Abdoulaye 1992: 275). Even with these verbs, one can still get an idea of their intensive meaning by looking at other verbs. For example, zaŕcè(e) is synonymous with wucè(e) 'pass beyond, surpass, overtake'. However, zaŕcè(e) has a grade 1 and a grade 2 forms zaŕtà and zàŕci, both meaning 'surpass, exceed by a bit'. Normally, it is assumed that the few grade 4 verbs without basic forms have in fact lost them.

³ As noted in Jaggar (1988: 395), a derived stative form of verbs exists in Hausa which appears most often in what looks like the progressive continuative. However, there are indications that

Appendix: Non-passive grade 7 verbs and the grade 4

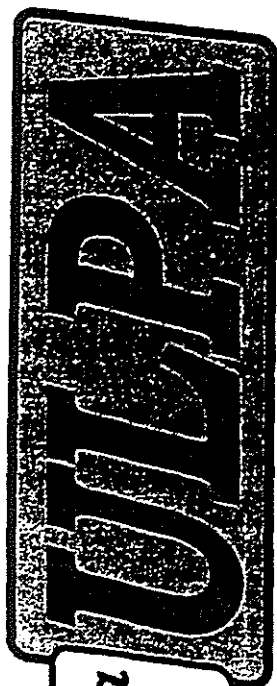
(These verbs are taken from Abraham 1962, Parsons 1962, and Jaggar 1988; grade 7 sense specified only when quite different from basic sense)

Intransitive bases	grade 7 intensive forms	grade 4 forms
ballàa 'go far/ away'	ballu	ballée
	dàuku 'be confused'	*daukèe
dīrkàa 'enter suddenly'	dīrku	*dīrkèe
	dūuru 'swarm'	dūurèe
kaaràa 'increase, profit'	kàaru	*kaarèe
kòoshi 'be replete'	kòosu	*kooshèe
kùmsa 'gather, pack, enter'	kùmsu	*kumshèe
	kwallàtu 'be replete'	*kwallàcee
	àfu 'be eager'	*afèe
àmfaanà 'profit'	àmfaanu	*amfàanee
ànkàrà 'realize'	ànkàru	*ankàree
baayaĩ 'lead to, become'	bàayu	*baayèe
bàlbazà 'spread'	(bàl)bàzu	*bajèe
	bànu 'be at wit's end'	*banèe
bàutaa (wà) 'serve (sb)'	bàutu 'be a servant'	*baucèe
bì 'have discipline, follow'	bìyu	*biyèe
bira 'ripen'	bùuru 'befall'	?burèe
bùnfkaasà 'develop'	bùnfkaasu	*bunfkaashee
bùwaayà 'be intractable'	bùwàayu	*buwàayee
càncantà 'be certain'	càncantu	cancàncee
dàidaità 'agree'	dàidaitu	*daidàicee
fàa'idantà 'profit'	fàa'idantu	?faa'idàncee
	fàku 'die (prophet)'	(fakèe '(rain) stop')
fàntsamà 'scatter'	fàntsàmu	*fantsàmee
fàskarà 'be intractable'	fàskàru	faskàree
gàagarà 'be intractable'	gàagàru	?gaagàree
gàji(yà) 'tire'	gàjiyu	*gajiyee
	gàrnu, gàsnu, gànnu 'be highly esteemed'	
himmantà 'strive'	himmantu	?himmàncee

REFERENCES

- Abdoulaye, Mahamane L. (1991). Derived direct objects in Hausa. Journal of West African Languages 21(1): 75-90.
- (1992). Aspects of Hausa morphosyntax in Role and Reference Grammar. Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo.
- (1996a). Efferential "verb + da" constructions in Hausa. Journal of African Languages and Linguistics 17: 113-151.
- (1996b). Figure and ground in the Hausa 'Grade 2' verb. African Languages and Cultures 9(1): 1-25.
- Abraham, Roy Clive. (1959). The language of the Hausa people. London: University Press.
- (1962). Dictionary of the Hausa language. 2nd edition. London: University Press.
- Attouman, Bachir Mahaman (1996). Aspect, détermination, modalité et diathèse en Hausa. Doctorat Unique dissertation, Université Denis Diderot/ Paris 7.
- Bargery, G.P. (1934). A Hausa-English dictionary. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bature, Abdullahi. (1991). Thematic arguments and semantic roles in Hausa (morphosyntax and lexical semantic interface). Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University.
- Caron, Bernard B. (1988). Passif et types de procès en haoussa. In: Études tchadiques: transitivité et diathèse, Herrmann Jungraithmayr and Henry Tourneux (eds.), 75-95. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- (1991). Le haoussa de l'Ader. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Comrie, Bernard B. (1988). Passive and voice. In: Passive and voice, Masayoshi Shibatani (ed.), 9-24. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. (1989). A grammar of Pero. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Furniss, Graham. (1983). The 4th Grade of the verb in Hausa. In: Studies in Chadic and Afroasiatic Linguistics, Ekkehard Wolff and Hilke Meyer-Bahlburg (eds.), 287-300. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Gouffé, Claude. (1962). Observations sur le degré causatif dans un parler haoussa du Niger. Journal of African Languages 1: 182-200.

- Klaiman, M. H. (1992). Middle verbs, reflexives middle constructions, and middle voice. Studies in Language 16(1): 35-61.
- Lazard, Gilbert. (1995). Research on actancy: The Paris RIVALLC group. In: Approaches to language typology, Masayoshi Shibatani and Theodora Bynon (eds.), 167-213. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lukas, Johannes. (1939). Die Sprache der Buduma im Zentralen Sudan. Kommission Verlag F.A. Brockhaus.
- (1941). Deutsche Quellen zur Sprache der Musgu-in Kamerun. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Matsushita, Shuji. (1972). An outline of Gwandara phonemics and Gwandara-English vocabulary. Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa 3. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Newman, Paul. (1973). Grades, vowel-tone classes and extensions in the Hausa verbal system. Studies in African Linguistics 4: 297-346.
- (1992). Hausa. In: International Encyclopedia of Linguistics Vol. 2, William Bright (ed.), 103-109. New York: OUP.
- Paris, C. (1987). Comment sont remplies en tcherkesse les fonctions dévolues dans d'autres langues aux variations de diathèses. Actances 3: 14-72.
- Parsons, F.W. (1960). The Verbal system in Hausa: forms, function and grades. Afrika und Übersee 44(1): 1-36.
- (1962). Further observations on the "causative" grade of the verb in Hausa. Journal of African Languages 1(3): 253-272.
- (1971-72). Suppletion and neutralization in the verbal system of Hausa. Afrika und Übersee 55: 49-97, 188-208.
- Pernée Lucien. (1984). Passif et moyen en grec ancien. CLAIX (Cercle linguistique d'Aix-en-Provence, Travaux) 2: 93-102.
- Robinson, Charles H. (1897). Hausa Grammar (with Exercises, Readings and Vocabularies, and Specimens of Hausa Script). London: Kegan Paul/ Trench/ Trübner.
- Schuh, Russel G. (1998). A grammar of Miya. University of California Publications: Linguistics, Vol. 130. Berkeley: University of California Press.



*University of Leipzig Papers on Africa
Politics and Economics Series*

University of Leipzig Papers on Africa
Languages and Literatures Series No. 06

The development of passive constructions in Hausa

by

Mahamane L. Abdoulaye

Leipzig, 1999

ISBN: 3-932632-36-2

Orders should be addressed to: / Bestellungen an:

Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität Leipzig

Burgstraße 21

D - 04109 Leipzig

Phone: (0049)-(0)341-9737030

Fax: (0049)-(0)341-9737048

Em@il: mgrosze@rz.uni-leipzig.de

Internet: <http://www.uni-leipzig.de/ifa/ulpa.htm>

University of Leipzig Papers on Africa

Languages and Literatures Series

Editor: H. Ekkehard Wolff

Layout and Graphics: Toralf Richter

Price: / Preis: DM 8,-

Orders should be addressed to: / Bestellungen an:

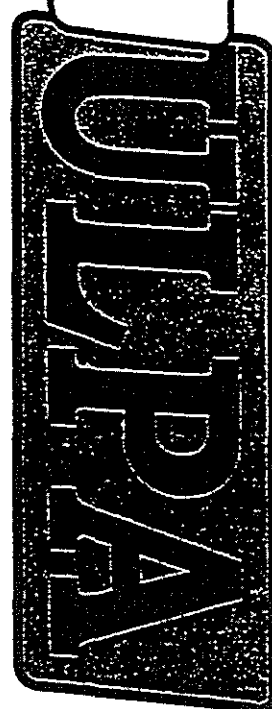
Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität Leipzig
Burgstraße 21
D - 04109 Leipzig
Phone: (0049)-(0)341-97379037
Fax: (0049)-(0)341-9737030
Em@il: mgrosze@rz.uni-leipzig.de
Internet: <http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~ifa/ulpa.htm>

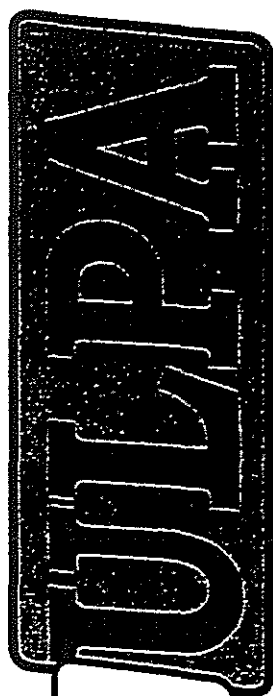
Papers available: / Bisher erschienen:

Politics and Economics Series

- No. 01: The control function of the management accountant in Tanzanian manufacturing companies. A case study of selected manufacturing firms in Tanzania. 1996
Sylvia Shayo-Temu
- No. 02: Industrie, ajustement et "entrepreneurship" en Côte d'Ivoire et au Ghana. 1996
Alice-Nicole Sindzingre
- No. 03: European development cooperation with Africa. The future of Lomé. 1996
Robert Kappel
- No. 04: Konzeptionen der Kleingewerbeförderung im südlichen Afrika. Fallstudien Namibia, Simbabwe und Südafrika. 1996
Dirk Hansohm, Christian Peters-Berries und Wolfgang Thomas
- No. 05: Entwicklungstheorie und die AKP-Zusammenarbeit der EU im Wandel. 1997
Glenn Brigaldino
- No. 06: Zur Förderung von Klein- und Mikrounternehmen in Kenia. Geschichte, Maßnahmen und Perspektiven 1997
Andreas Bittner
- No. 07: Centre and periphery in the global order. Theoretical aspects of asymmetries and symmetries in the globalisation process. 1997
Robert Kappel
- No. 08: Some characteristics of the Japanese Africa policy in the 1990s. 1997
Makato Sato
- No. 09: Resettlement as an instrument of small enterprise promotion in Nigeria. 1997
Olatunji Adeoti
- No. 10: Militärmacht, Erdöleinnahmen und Zivilgesellschaft in Nigeria (1985-1995). 1997
Daniel Bach
- No. 11: Stammesgesellschaften jenseits des Staates. 1997
Reinhart Köbber
- No. 12: Japan's aid for the agricultural development in Africa: Experiences and evaluations. 1997
Masao Yoshida
- No. 13: Kein Land in Sicht? Staat, Markt und Gesellschaft in Kenia. 1997
Andreas Bittner
- No. 14: Is political instability harmful to business? The case of Shell in Nigeria. 1998

**University of Leipzig Papers on Africa
Languages and Literatures Series**





**University of Leipzig Papers on Africa
Languages and Literatures Series**

- Jedrzej George Frynas
No. 15: Integration of sub-Saharan Africa into international trade: A critical review of the Green Paper. 1998
Tsefatsion Medhanie
- No. 16:** Gender and small industry in Tanzania. 1998
Silvia Shayo-Temu
- No. 17:** Assoziationen im informellen Sektor - am Beispiel Ibadan/Nigeria. 1998
Markus Wauschkuhn
- No. 18:** Do Social Capital and Ethnic Homogeneity Really Matter? Preliminary Difference for a Political Theory of Growth and stagnation in Tropical Africa. 1998
Pierre Englebert
- No. 19:** Afrikapolitik im Schatten der Hallstein-Doktrin. Die beiden deutschen Staaten und Tanzania. 1964-1965. 1998
Ulf Engel
- No. 20:** Economic Reform in the New Democratic Africa. 1998
Nicolas van de Walle

Heiße Sonne - Hartes Geld: Mikrofinanzierung in Entwicklungsländern am Beispiel Kenias. 1998
Andreas Bittner

Languages and Literatures Series:

- No. 01:** Textbasierte Untersuchungen zur verbalen Flexionsmorphologie im Makunduchi (Hadimu). 1997
René Kriegler
- No. 02:** Prosodische Markierung als sprachliche Strategie zur Hierarchisierung verknüpfter Prädikationen am Beispiel des Shona. 1997
Tom Güldemann
- No. 03/04:** Levels of perception and reproduction of reality in modern African literature. 1998
Hilke Meyer-Bahlburg (ed.)
- No. 05:** Afrikanische Sprachminiaturen. Zur formalen Ästhetik von Kleinformen afrikanischer Sprachkunst unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Tonalität. 1998
H. Ekkehard Wolff

History and Culture Series:

- No. 01:** Journal of a missionary tour to the Labaya country (Guinea/Conakry) in 1850. 1998, by Rev. John Ulrich Graf, Church Missionary Society
Edited by Bruce L. Mouser